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tion of about fifteen hundred people. Miss Clark's simple, gentle manner and clear, flowing utterance caught the people at once, and she kept their attention riveted to the close. A collection was taken as the people retired. The work that is being done in South Africa by Miss Hobhouse, Miss Clark and their helpers must have been news to most of the people present. It must have been a divine inspiration that caused Miss Hobhouse to think of starting these home industries of spinning and weaving, to take the place of the agricultural life, now rendered impossible by the devastation of war.

Miss Clark gave a most interesting account of the work they were doing and of the great success they have met with. It was pathetic to hear of the eagerness of these almost, in many cases, homeless Boer girls to learn, and how quickly they pick it up, but sad to think the work is so hindered by the scarcity of spinning wheels, and wood to make them or funds to purchase them, especially when there is such a demand in the towns round about for the rugs and mats and homespun cloths they make. Surely if the people of Switzerland have so gladly sent all the spinning wheels they could gather together, and even those they have treasured as heirlooms, our own country should not let the work be hindered for want of funds.

The unselfish, devoted lives of Miss Hobhouse and her friends, amongst our distressed sisters in South Africa, must greatly help to lessen the natural feeling of bitterness and resentment they must have towards the British people, and help a little to heal the broken hearts.

Mr. Walsh joins with me in prayerful, heartfelt wishes, that great prosperity may attend this much needed work.

Very sincerely yours,

ALICE M. WALSH.

A Periodic Congress of the Nations.

BY BENJAMIN F. TRUEBLOOD.

For nearly one hundred years the idea of a regular international congress or parliament has been a favorite one with those who have labored for the establishment of permanent peace among the nations. In the first half of last century it invariably went along with the proposal of a permanent tribunal of arbitration, or high court of nations, which has now, in the Hague Court, been measurably realized. It had the support of Worcester, of Channing, of Ladd, of Walker, of Burritt, of Sumner and Judge Jay, and their coworkers on both sides of the Atlantic.

In the evolution of international intercourse, trade, arbitration and conventional coöperation, the idea has again suddenly forced itself upon the attention of publicists, of students of international affairs, and of progressive statesmen.

The argument for the speedy creation of such a congress, with at least extensive advisory powers, is now a very simple and practical one, as compared with the theoretical grounds on which the proposition was at first supported. The governments of the civilized nations have found themselves compelled, by reason of the growing complexity of their relations and the enormous multiplicity of their common interests, to hold from time to time official congresses of various kinds in order to

secure the proper consideration and disposition of important problems of political, commercial and humanitarian character which have arisen in their intercourse with one another.

More than fifty of these congresses have been held since the year 1815. A list of the more important of them is given below.*

The immense significance of these international gatherings may be seen from the increased frequency with which they have been held in recent years, and from the remarkable change in their character. Only six of those listed were convened in the fifty years beginning with 1815; whereas about forty of them have met since 1870, or an average of more than one a year. During the past year, 1906, no less than five very important conferences of this character were held, the third Pan-American Conference, the Moroccan Conference, the Universal Postal Congress at Rome, the Berlin Wireless Telegraphy Congress and the Congress at Geneva for the Revision of the Red Cross Convention of 1864. The early congresses, in fact all those held up to 1864, dealt almost exclusively with political subjects. Since that time the political element has largely disappeared from them. They have devoted themselves, with one or two prominent exceptions, chiefly to the discussion and regulation of matters pertaining to the general permanent

*LIST OF INTERNATIONAL CONGRESSES AND CONFERENCES.

1815. The Congress of Vienna, which adjusted the questions left by the Napoleonic campaigns.

1822. The Congress of Verona, for the promotion of the purposes of the Holy Alliance. Preliminary conferences of the allies had been held at Paris in 1815, at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818, and at Troppau in 1820.

1825. The Conference of St. Petersburg, which prepared the way for the independence of Greece.

1831. The Conference of London, which made Holland and Belgium independent nations.

1856. The Congress of Paris, which disposed of the questions entailed by the Crimean War.

1864. The Geneva Congress, which established the International Red Cross Society.

1867. The Conference of London, which neutralized the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg.

1868. The Congress of St. Petersburg, which provided for the restriction of the use of certain types of bullets.

1871. The Conference of London, which modified the Paris Treaty of 1856.

1874. The Congress of Brussels, which prepared a restatement and improvement of the laws of war.

1874. The First International Postal Congress, held at Berne, which organized the Universal Postal Union.

1875. The Metrical Diplomatic Congress at Paris, which prepared the International Metric Convention, and provided for the meeting of a general Conference on Weights and Measures at Paris, at least every six years.

1875. The International Telegraphic Conference at St. Petersburg.

1877. The Conference of Constantinople, in the interests of the rights of the Porte's Christian subjects.

1878. The Congress of Berlin, which modified the treaty of San Stefano after the Russo-Turkish War, and rearranged the map of Eastern Europe.

1878. International Monetary Conference at Paris, invited by the United States.

1881. International Monetary Conference at Paris, invited by the United States and France.

1884. The Berlin West African Congress, which set up the Congo Free State.

1885. International Prime Meridian Conference at Washington, invited by the United States and attended by representatives from twenty-six nations.

interests of human society. They have dealt with trade, with money, navigation, slavery, penology, sanitation, transportation, the postal service, international travel and residence, methods of settling disputes, international law, and other kindred subjects.

Considering their irregular and evanescent character, these conferences have met with gratifying success. They have disposed of many difficult and troublesome questions. They have initiated important lines of public policy. They have done much to promote international acquaintance, to modify and improve international relations. They have reduced distrust, promoted good understanding, and deepened the spirit of fellowship and coöperation. They have resulted in treaties and diplomatic agreements which have removed serious grounds for friction and strife, and have broadened the scope of international law and made clearer and more definite a number of its principles.

These international gatherings have, in fact, become a necessity of our modern international life. Several of them have become permanent organizations, the conditions out of which they have sprung and the subjects with which they deal requiring their continued and orderly existence. Of these are the Universal Postal Union Congress, the Pan-American Conference, the International Prison Congress, and others. The only question about them now is whether they are to continue hereafter in the same indefinite, occasional, fragmentary

1889. The Marine Conference of Washington.

1889. The first Pan-American Conference at Washington.

1890. The Brussels Anti-Slavery Conference.

1892. The International Sanitary Conference at Venice, the protocol drawn by which was signed by the delegates of fifteen nations.

1892. Brussels International Monetary Conference, in which twenty nations were represented; called by the United States under an act of Congress.

1893. International Sanitary Conference at Dresden, in which nineteen nations were represented.

1893. Hague Conference on Code of Private International Law, in which thirteen powers were represented. Similar Conferences were held at The Hague in 1894 and 1900, under the auspices of the Netherlands government.

1896. The Universal Postal Congress held at Washington and attended by representatives from every nation on the globe.

1899. The Hague Peace Conference, which provided for the organization of the Permanent International Court of Arbitration.

1900. International Prison Congress at Brussels. Twenty-nine governments were represented. Five official prison congresses had been previously held, namely, at London in 1872, Stockholm 1878, Rome 1885, St. Petersburg 1890, Paris 1895.

1901. The Brussels Sugar Congress, which provided for the abolition of sugar bounties.

1901. The second Pan-American Conference, held in Mexico City.

1902. Ostend Congress of Commerce and Industry, under the auspices of Belgium.

1903. American International Customs Congress at New York.

1904. Conference at The Hague for the adaptation of the Geneva Red Cross Convention to Maritime Warfare.

1905. Conference of Admiralty Experts at Brussels, to consider the subject of Collisions at Sea and Salvage.

1906. The Algeciras Conference, to adjust the Moroccan misunderstanding between Germany and France.

1906. The third Pan-American Conference at Rio Janeiro.

1906. The Universal Postal Congress at Rome.

1906. The Berlin Wireless Telegraphy Congress.

1906. The Geneva Congress, called by Switzerland, for the revision of the Red Cross Convention of 1864.

and isolated way as heretofore, or are by international agreement to be brought together into a single world-organization and made regular and periodic. The conditions of international society, of international communication and trade, which have made them necessary heretofore, are now permanent, and are constantly enlarging and strengthening themselves. The nations are moving more and more together in all their larger world-wide interests. They will be compelled, therefore, either to create from time to time, as they have heretofore done, special international assemblies in which these interests may be adequately studied and directed, or to establish some sort of a general periodic body to which they may all be naturally and without delay referred.

It hardly needs to be argued that a permanent periodic congress, whose work would be continuous and systematic, would, in its handling of these international problems, be superior to temporary conferences called for special occasions. The whole trend of things in the present state of human society — a growing world-society — is away from the temporary and fragmentary and isolated towards the permanent and the general. That is a well-recognized law of the growth of civilization. In important respects this tendency has already won the day over the chaotic condition in international affairs which has hitherto prevailed. Some of the great subjects of universal concern to the nations already receive periodic consideration, as just now stated, in special congresses, like those on the postal service, prison reform, etc., and are looked after by permanent international bureaus (several of these are at Berne, Switzerland) or standing commissions. Arbitration, so long applied irregularly and uncertainly to disputes as they arose, has now created for itself a permanent tribunal, which is destined before long, through the treaties of obligatory arbitration which have been concluded, and the general treaty which it is expected that the second Hague Conference will prepare, to become a veritable world-court.

The time has fully come when the movement which has expressed itself in the many international congresses and conferences held during the past century should be brought to culmination in a regular and permanent organization, as the arbitration movement has culminated in the Hague Court. All the arguments which hold for a general permanent court as against temporary tribunals set up for specific controversies and then disbanded, leaving little behind to guide subsequent tribunals, are valid for a general periodic congress in place of the occasional congresses now so frequently necessary. All international subjects requiring the knowledge of experts and specialists, it may be said in passing, could be handled by a regular congress just as they are handled in national assemblies, that is, by committees.

The chief objection to the creation of an international congress or parliament has been that it would involve a surrender, in part, of national sovereignty and independence. But national sovereignty and independence are not absolute, and in the very nature of the case cannot be, as has often been shown.* The nations are members of "the family of nations," and the governments are compelled, in various important matters of common

* "World Organization."—Bridgman. "The Federation of the World."—Trueblood.

concern, to take council of one another, or, in other words, to exercise a joint sovereignty which is beyond the field of national sovereignty, and which no nation can exercise alone. It is only within the realm of these common problems that it is proposed that a congress or parliament of the nations should act. The purely local affairs of every nation would remain as absolutely under its own control as they are to-day, and in its sphere its sovereignty and independence would be unimpaired.

The movement already practically inaugurated for the creation of a congress such as is here suggested — a congress, that is, with only advisory powers at first — has made extraordinary progress since its initiation four years ago. In February, 1903, on the petition of the American Peace Society, R. L. Bridgman and others, the Massachusetts Legislature passed unanimously, in both Houses, the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the Congress of the United States be requested to authorize the President of the United States to invite the governments of the world to join in establishing, in whatever way they may judge expedient, an international congress, to meet at stated periods, to deliberate on questions of common interest to the nations and to make recommendations thereon to the governments."

In a letter to the President of the American Peace Society, on March 2 of that year, Hon. John L. Bates, then Governor of Massachusetts, wrote:

"HON. ROBERT TREAT PAINE,

President of the American Peace Society, Boston, Mass.

"In reply to your favor of February 27, permit me to state that the Resolutions of the General Court of this Commonwealth, requesting Congress to authorize the President of the United States to invite the governments of the world to join in establishing a regular International Congress, have my most cordial endorsement.

"The idea of a parliament of man, at first considered visionary, is becoming accepted in this swift-moving age as something not only possible of attainment, but, on the contrary, as quite probable in the future. Every effort to this end is in the interest of progressive civilization and of humanity.

"Permit me to congratulate the American Peace Society on its persistent efforts to this end, and believe me,

"Yours sincerely, JOHN L. BATES."

The resolution of the Massachusetts Legislature was duly presented to Congress and referred to the Committees on Foreign Relations. A hearing was given by the House Committee to the friends of the proposal, and a good deal of interest was manifested among its members. The matter was, however, never reported to the House.

In the meantime this resolution had received the support of many eminent men in business and other circles. It has been taken up by the Mohonk Arbitration Conference and incorporated into its platform for two successive years. The Interparliamentary Union at St. Louis in 1904 unanimously endorsed it, and proposed it to President Roosevelt as one of the principal subjects that ought to be put on the program of a second Hague Conference, the calling of which the Union urged upon the President. The next year at Brussels the Interparliamentary Conference considered the subject again and referred it to a special commission to study in detail. The result of this commission's work and of the action thereon of the Union at its conference in London last July is that the Interparliamentary organization — the most authoritative unofficial body of men in the world — is urging, as the first and most practicable step toward the realization of this great demand of our age, that the

Hague Conference itself be made hereafter a permanent body to meet periodically and automatically. The International Peace Congress, representing a wide constituency in all the civilized nations, has also twice voted its approval of the Massachusetts Legislature's proposal. One of our greatest weekly journals, *The Independent*, of New York, not to mention others, has for some three years' past been giving the subject its able and conspicuous endorsement. The Governor and all the justices of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, statesmen and diplomats at home and abroad, like Andrew D. White and William I. Buchanan, jurists, leaders of great business organizations, etc., have frankly avowed their belief that the proposal is wise and timely and capable of early practical realization.

The proposition has, in fact, met with no serious objection. On the contrary, it has had prompt and strong support wherever its nature and significance have become understood. Among the four or five leading subjects which are now being emphasized and urged, from all quarters, for the program of the coming Hague Conference, this is invariably one. Only two others share with it in prominence and urgency of demand, a general treaty of obligatory arbitration and the limitation of armaments.

It is on these three great measures that the second Hague Conference will probably concentrate its thought and its wisdom. And as this subject of a regular international assembly, in the form proposed, has met with fewer objections than either of the others, it would not be surprising if in the deliberations of the Conference it should assume the first place, as the subject of a permanent international tribunal did in the first Conference, and the nations be given the beginnings of a world assembly or parliament, as they already have the beginnings of a world court of justice. The two institutions belong together and it will not be long until they are operating side by side, in the high interests of international justice and international peace.

The Cost of War.

It is very difficult to put into figures, in any satisfactory way, the cost of war. The losses in life, in money, in destruction of property, in the derangement of business, in the curtailing of productive industry, in the impairment of health and the power to labor, are so great and have ramifications in so many directions that anything more than approximate estimates of the economic losses caused by war are impossible. The following figures and statements, which have been prepared because of the large demand for information as to the cost of war in men, money, etc., must therefore be taken with reserve, as only giving in a general way the information desired.

LOSS OF LIFE.

It has been estimated that the aggregate loss of life, in all the wars which have occurred since the beginning of authentic history, has been not less than 15,000,000,000. This is probably far under the actual losses, as in the earlier centuries wars were incessant and even more pitiless and murderous than those of modern times, when many of the horrors attendant upon battles and campaigns have been suppressed. This vast number of 15,000,000,000 slain in war is equal probably to all the